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The American Indian in German Poetry

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN GERMAN POETRY

BY

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CONTENTS

Chapter I.

Introduction 1

Chapter II.

The Origin of the Idealized Indian. 7

Chapter III.

The English Interest in the Indian. 12

Chapter IV.

The German Interest in the Indian Before and During the Eighteenth Century. 16

Chapter V.

The Interest During the Revolutionary Period. 33

Chapter VI.

The Interest During the Nineteenth Century. 40

Conclusion 57

318202

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

America and her copper-colored race have been a center of literary interest from the moment they became known to the civilized world.

To the classical scholars, of course, the discovery of the New World was not an entirely startling revelation. When this event took place questions like these presented themselves to the minds of the humanists: Had the ancient philosophers known anything about the existence of such lands? Whence came the human population of this continent? Had there been any former evidence of the red race? At once there ensued a search to find answers to these enquiries. Records of the past were delved into, while the writings of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers and poets were studied anew. Here facts and myths were revealed which had long been forgotten. Now, in the light of the new discoveries they received new interpretations and were applied to the new condition of things.

The scholars were not slow to find the passages which seemed prophetic of America. The references to the Atlantic in the writings of Seneca, Virgil, Horace, Aristotle, and Theopompus, obtained a new importance. The Atlantic had always been productive of wonder tales. From the literature of the Greeks, we learn that they created "Islands of the Blest" in the unknown beyond the bright horizon. It is an idea which continued to be

associated with the Atlantic through many centuries. When out of the Atlantic in which for ages the free running fancy of the people had placed islands with paradisiac conditions, the positive truth of the discovery of new lands and people was brought forth, the Atlantic became a subject of renewed, literary interest.

Since continental life was suffering from the ennui of artificiality and of rigid social and political form, this opening up of a new world let in a breath of freshness and naturalness. Then, indeed, the old world seemed aged, vigorless, encrusted with a life of conventionalities. Furthermore the discovery widened the field of knowledge in the scientific world. New forms of life were found among the plants and animals. But most surprising of all was the finding of a strange and wonderful race of people, different in color, speech, and manner of living. The philosophically minded man at once saw the contrast between the civilized, European people and this new race which was living "close to nature". It was a fact that could not long remain concealed to the serious thinking class. European ideas and intellectual habits were immediately effected which expressed itself in the literature of the age.

Thus it was, that the revived interest in old Greek literature, the new discoveries and the dissatisfaction with the unnatural conditions in society, unitely, caused the rise of the Utopian literature.

Sir Thomas More was the first of the modern Utopian writers. His "Utopia" (1515-16) was the impetus which set in motion the Utopian movement in literature.

The westward extent of America was as yet unknown, so that More was not reaching beyond the possibilities when he described a traveler who had accompanied Vespucci on his last voyage. He had remained in South America with a few companions and they had made their way home by circumnavigating the globe. None of the countries visited by the traveler, Hythlodaeus, interested him so much as the island of Utopia. "Here all the traditional absurdities dominant in the old world were unknown, while society was constituted on a humane and reasonable basis. Specifically the New World had little to do with the details, while the mere possibilities suggested by it occasioned this remarkable picture of a state of society diametrically opposed to the aspect of contemporary Europe."[1]

This admirable classic was too ideal in its thoughts to be of any practical value in bringing about a reform in those conditions at which it was directed. Yet it was accepted instantly by contemporaries as a model after which many other literary works were fashioned. Possibilities of discovery not merely in the realm of geography but in that of social organization, morals, and politics were laid open by this amazing

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1. Cambridge Modern History. Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 37.

revelation of a strange world. These contingent interests became the theoretical subject matter for literary productions.

The causes, which had influenced Sir Thomas More in England to write his Utopia, had similar effects upon Montaigne in France. Montaigne was a literary critic of society. The contrast of the old world with the new imbued him with Utopian ideas. His essay on the "Canibales" was a kind but forceful criticism on the state of European society. As if in a vision, he seemed to have been lifted above the standing ground of his time. He saw that cultured Europe could not be favorably compared with the crude but natural state of mankind in the New World. It is a fact worth noting that the French, who had been the world's model in bringing about an artificially made society, were among the first to criticize that which had been the product of their own making.

Montaigne's knowledge of America was not mere book learning. Facts concerning the original inhabitance of America made an unusual impression on him since he received them first hand from merchants and seamen who were familiar with that country. However, the chief source of his information was a man in his own service who had lived ten or twelve years in Brazil.

Before the voyage of Columbus the savage or "brute man", as such, was but little known. He figured more as a myth than as a reality. Less than a century later when Montaigne (1850) wrote about him, the Indian had become well known and had taken

possession of the cultured people's curiosity, interest and speculation. This race, scarcely above the state of nature, strangely fascinated the French philosopher. The contrast between the natural and cultured man impressed itself more and more upon him. He began to conjecture upon such questions as these: What if civilization after all were a morbid and unnatural growth? What if the condition of man in America were that for which the Creator designed him? What if those omnipotent powers, law and custom, as at present constituted, were impudent usurpers, destined one day to decline under the influence of right reason and to give place, if not to the original rule of beneficent nature, at least to something essentially very different from the systems which now passed under their names?[1] He did not answer these questions in any positive way. In describing the characters and life of the savage, he so strikingly placed him superior to the civilized man, that his conclusions were self-evident.

The characteristics of Montaigne's Cannibals will be treated later. At present we only wish to show Montaigne's place in line with those who were advocating the return to simplicity and nature, a movement slowly coming into evidence.

Montaigne's views made a deep impression upon serious minded people in other European countries. His ideas re-echoed the feeling, which had long been gaining ground, of revolt against

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1. Cambridge Modern History. Vol. I, Chap. 2.

hypocrisy, and against the empty show of power, dignity and outward, elaborated forms. As a remedy a campaign for naturalness, sincerity in accordance with truth and nature, was started.

After Montaigne, Bacon kept the "New light" burning. He, however, belongs to the English Utopian writers. Like the former, he lined up the old and the new world in a startling contrast; but unlike him, the phenomena of society had for him a secondary interest. Bacon chose to know the causes of things, to comprehend nature in her entirety and to penetrate her secrets.

America lent him a field wherein to investigate these matters. Again the aborigines of this continent were set up before the mental eye of the world over against the polished society of Europe. Bacon even went so far as to speculate upon the problem whether it was a feasible undertaking to plant the civilization of Europe among the American savages. His conclusion was a decided no.[1]

There followed other writers dreaming about reforms locating them on new or distant islands, free from over-culture and the excesses of civilization. The same underlying thought, we find later in the "Robinson Crusoe" and the "Swiss Family Robinson" stories. It is a motive nearly as old as literature itself.

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1. Cf. Cambridge Modern History. Vol. I. Chap. 2.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEALIZED INDIAN.

Discoverers of America and other travelers in the 15th and 16th centuries had described the primitive people whom they found as either kindly or savage. Writers like Oviedo and Gomara in order to extenuate the Spanish atrocities in Central and South America made the Indian an embodiment of all that is savage and bestial. Such views evoked the protest of the Spanish Bishop Las Casas, who spent his life in alleviating the sufferings of the defenseless natives. Spurred on by righteous indignation, he wrote his pamphlet "Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indian" (1552) which is an eloquent vindication of the gentle and good Indian. This article was translated into the languages of the chief countries of Europe and was the starting point for the "Rise of the Myth of the Noble Indian". Accounts by Benzoni, Drake,[1] and Raleigh,[2] followed in which the authors purposed to set forth the Indian in the true light of his noble, natural state.[3]

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1. The Aboriginal Races of North America. 15th Ed. revised by Prof. Williams.

2. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America. Boston, 1884.

3. "Rise of the Myth of the Noble Indian". Von Klenze, Modern Language Association, 1914.

We can well understand how civilized and uncivilized men should be compared with one another, when through the discovery of the New World they were brought into contrast. It must be admitted when all has been told that the man nearest to nature in many respects stood head and shoulders above the cultured man. At any rate his life was such that humanity had no cause to be ashamed of it. He formed a society which no benevolent and thinking man should have taken upon himself the responsibility of destroying. People of advanced civilization have not made so noble and bright a thing of life as to entitle them to be censorious upon the ruder attempts of others.[1]

As society grew more affected and artificial from extreme efforts to attain culture, the simplicity of primitive man came to be regarded as a cure for this abnormality. Just as after a day of feasting and festivity we are happy to return to the plain living of common every day life, so in society there crept in a desire to return to a former, simpler life. The thinking mind began to seek a natural state of society, a concrete illustration of man in his innocent condition and found him as it thought in the American Indian.

We ask, what was there in the life of the Aboriginal American, as distinguished from the natives of other lands discovered, to be desired by the civilized world? What traits of

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1. Cf. Helps: The Spanish Conquest in America. Vol. II.

character did the Indian possess to be imitated by a highly civilized race? Why was he preeminently a fit subject for poetry? To answer these questions, we will characterize the red man according to the accounts given by some of the sympathetic writers.

In the essay of Montaigne the primitive man is described in his natural state before he was corrupted by the greed and vice of the white man. In the Brazilian, Montaigne recognized nothing of the nature associated with the words barbarous and savage; except that the epithet barbarous was but indiscriminately applied to persons and things without ones country.

These South American Indians were a people permanently enjoying the fabled "Golden Age" of ancient poetry, not far remote from their original simplicity and still governed by laws of nature forming a society maintained with so little artifice. They lived in happy ignorance of letters, numbers, riches, poverty, sickness, and feeble old age. Words signifying fraud, treachery, avarice and envy were never heard of. They were "fresh from the hands of the gods". They had no fear for the future; as Talvy[1] says later "primitive man lived but for the present, a concern for the past and the future presupposes a certain degree of culture".

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1. Cf. Charakteristik der Volkslieder, Vierter Abschnitt.

They lived together in large common houses, preserving the institution of the family. Their houses were made of the barks of trees. Their beds hung suspended from the roofs. The family arose with the sun. The men spent the day in dancing and hunting, while the women were employed in preparing their drink. In the morning before eating, the old men walked to and fro from one end of the house to the other as they preached to the whole family. The two main thoughts of their discourse were: fortitude in the face of their enemies and love towards their families.

The Indian had been called a savage and a cannibal with unforgivable traits of atrocities. By comparison Montaigne puts the white man to shame. He admits that the Indian prisoner was killed, roasted and eaten. Concerning it he remarks, "There is more barbarity in eating a man alive than when he is dead, in tearing a body that is yet perfectly sentient limb from limb by racks and torments, in roasting it by degrees, causing it to be bit and worried by dogs and swine (as we have not only read but recently seen not amongst inveterate and mortal enemies, but amongst neighbors and fellow-citizens and what is worse, under cover of piety and religion) than to roast and eat him after he is dead. The white man exceeds them in all sorts of barbarity."

The savages did not make their lives unhappy by wishing for things they did not possess. They only coveted what their natural necessities required. They had a strong love for independence as a result of which they delighted in solitude.

Even children have been known to go away from home and live alone in the woods for days at a time.

All savages have some religion. That has always been accepted as a matter of fact. But when Montaigne made known that the Cannibals had poetry, an astounding discovery seemed to have been made. He found that popular and purely natural poetry had a naive grace which compared favorably with the beauty of artificial poetry.

The two songs Montaigne quotes in this connection are of particular interest. One gives the utterance of a prisoner from which we judge the brave, defiant character of the cannibal. "These muscles," says he, "this flesh and these veins are your own. Poor fools, that you are, you little think that the substance of your ancestors' link is here yet; taste it well and you will find in it the relish of your own flesh." In this song one must agree with Montaigne, there is nothing that smacks of the barbarian. The other is a love song. "Stay, adder, stay that by thy pattern my sister may draw the fashion and work off a rich belt, I would present to my beloved; so may thy beauty and the excellent order of thy scales be forever preferred before all other serpents." The essayist remarks in reference to this poem, "There is nothing barbarous in this composition but moreover it is perfectly anacreontic."

Such was the kindly treatment the Indian received at the hands of a Frenchman.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH INTEREST IN THE INDIAN.

In England historians and literary men did much to eradicate the erroneous idea of Indian savagery. Among the earliest of these writers appears the name of Sir Walter Raleigh. (1552-1618) One sentence from his memoirs sums up concisely his attitude toward the Indian. "We found the people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason such as live after the manner of the Golden Age."[1]

Dryden[2] (1631-1700) wrote two dramas in which the chief characters are Indiana: "The Indian Queen" and "The Indian Emperor". He placed his scene of action among the Indians of Mexico at the time of the Mexican Conquest by Cortez. Dryden's Indian is not the nature child in whom society, wearied from over-culture, found an ideal for simplicity. On the contrary he is several stages removed from the primitive state. In "The Indian Emperor" one speech of Cortez concerns this discussion since therein Dryden expresses the same idea of barbarism as given by Montaigne:

> "Wild and untaught are terms which we alone invent,
> For fashions differing from our own,
> For all their customs are by nature wrought,
> But we, by art, unteach what nature taught."[3]

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1. Sir Walter Raleigh and His Colony in America.
2. Works of Dryden by Walter Scott. Vol. II. London, 1818.
3. Ibid. p. 297.

Addison and Steele were among the next to recognize the true worth of the Indian. In the 18th century England was teeming with enthusiasm over the new conception of nature, which had its origin, as has been shown, in the discovery of America with its unusual race of people.

Not only was there a revolt against the affectation of society, but also against the stilted,classical style in literature. Two centuries prior to this,the literati marveled at the poetry of the Cannibals. Again were they amazed when it was made known that the Laplanders possessed poetry full of freshness, warmth and simplicity.

These discoveries lead to a search for old English folk-songs. Foremost among those interested were Addison and Steele with the Spectator as their organ of expression. Since they were interested in the "nature movement" and wrote much against the artificial show and frivolity of cultured society, the naive Indian would find ready recognition in their publication.

In the Spectator, article No. 11, Steele gives the story of Inkle and Yarico in which is contrasted the selfish, avaricious white man and the faithful, simple, self-sacrificing savage girl. Inkle, a young Englishman, goes out to seek his fortune in the New World. Shipwrecked on the American coast, he is the only one on board to escape. While in concealment least he be killed by the savages, a beautiful Indian girl, Yarico, finds him. Charmed by this handsome youth, she leads him in

safety to a cave. For many months she provides for him. Inkle wins her love and confidence. He promises to take her to England as his wife where she is to wear fine clothes and live in a beautiful house. Picked up one day by a passing ship, they start on their way to England. Now that Inkle is about to return to civilization,he thinks of his loss of time with no material gain. His sentiment gives place to his desire for money. Heartlessly he sells Yarico at the Island of Barbado, unmoved by her pleadings and tears.

In No. 50 of the Spectator, Addison published a translation from a journal left by four Iroquois Indian Kings, who had been court guests in London. In this account they had written their impressions of England. Addison's personal interest in the Indian is reflected in his own words: "Since their departure I have employed a friend to make many enquiries of their landlord relative to their manners and conversation and also concerning the remarks they made of the country. For next to the forming of right notions of such strangers, I should be desirous of learning what ideas they have conceived of us." Addison also refers to the Indian's limited comprehension of the strange sights in England. "We are all guilty in some measure of the same narrow way of thinking which we meet with in this abstract of the Indian Journal, when we fancy the customs, dresses, and manners of other countries are ridiculous and extravagant if they do not resemble those of our own."

Much of England's knowledge concerning the Indians was received through her missionary reports sent from America. John Carver has no doubt left one of the best accounts of Indian manners and customs in his work titled "Trips Through the Interior of North America in the Years 1766-68".

Samuel G. Drake (1798-1875) is another Englishman, deserving mention, who did much to establish a humane feeling for the Indian. A selection from his book shows that he looked upon the Indian as an ideal for Englishmen to follow. "The Indians seldom answer matters of importance the same day, lest in so doing they should be thought to have treated it as though it was of small consequence. We oftener repent of a hasty decision than that we have lost time in maturing our judgments. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent among the red men. How different this is from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons where scarce a day passes without some confusion that makes the speaker hoarse in calling to order; or from the mode of conversation in many polite companies of Europe where if you do not deliver your sentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient loquacity of those you converse with and are never suffered to finish it."[1]

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1. Aboriginal Races of North America by S. G. Drake. p. 42.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GERMAN INTEREST IN THE INDIAN BEFORE AND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The German interest in American life in general can be traced through an evolutionary process which passes from indifference to deep interest. The difference between the attitude of Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries toward our country and its discovery, and that of the other continental countries and England, is due to the internal dissension in Germany, also to the fact that Germany was not a sea power.

In the middle of the 18th century, and even after, the interest was exceedingly intense. The cause for this is attributed to the greater political importance of Germany and of America and also to the liberty loving and idealistic characters of the Germans. They recognized a kinship in aim between Americans and themselves. No German poet of any account since the days of Goethe and Schiller has failed to say something about America.[1]

Previous to the 18th century the interest in America had been awakened and kept active by the reports of missionaries. A letter written in 1688 by Pastorius, professor of Altdorf, Germany, and later the founder of Germantown, shows the eager-

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1. "America in the Popular and Student Poetry of Germany" by Emil. Keppler, Modern Lang. Ass't. Vol. 18.

ness of the Germans to learn of the life and language of the Indians. From the beginning of the letter, we judge his friend, Modelius, to whom he is writing, has been anxiously waiting to hear concerning the natives. The Indian described by this German is the same good "nature man" met in our former descriptions of him.[1]

Siegmund Baumgartens who was missionary for five years among the Canadian Indians, has written a "Geschichte von America" (1735) in two large volumes. He sums up the Indian character somewhat as follows: The Indian possesses good common sense, alive imagination, quick conception, a remarkable memory, an old inherited religion and a form of government. In his conduct he is cold and deliberate. He possesses a manner of indifference which would try our patience. He is never jealous, never grows angry, proud with undaunted courage and always master of himself. He shows reverence for old people and respect for his equals. He is not given to flattery and never overwhelms anyone with great assurance of friendship. His hospitality to strangers and his consideration for those in misery exceed any civilized man's attempts. He is fickle, treacherous, and revengeful and to be feared since he conceals and harbors feelings. Although he lacks much, yet he has advantage over us. That vice to which we are subject because of luxury and wealth is foreign to him.

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1. Zwei Unbekannte Briefe von Pastorius, herausgegeben von Julius Goebel.

Although he possesses the ability and capacity for creative work, he has not made the progress of European races. He laughs at the white man who builds houses which will last hundreds of years. We would no doubt be much happier if we like him possessed that disposition of unconcern. He is to be envied that stolid nil admirari. He knows nothing of those things without which, we think, we can not live.

Just as society had become over-cultured and unnatural, so had a corresponding decadence taken place in Literature. Likewise the same remedy was tried for the latter state of things as had been used in the former: Nature was again resorted to.

During the latter half of the 18th century, a fresh current swept through the literature of Europe. There came a cry of long stifled emotion for a return to the simple and natural. A revolt arose against the tyranny of intellect. The individual personality sought for a bond between itself and nature. This movement changed the whole spirit of European literature and thought. Men sought a return, at least in imagination, to a simplerand more primitive condition of life.

We have seen, this was not an entirely new idea suddenly seizing the mind of the people. It had been gradually finding its way down through several centuries, lead on by single men until in the 18th century it became a universal movement. This idea first asserted itself in a revolt against over-culture in Montaigne's essay on the Cannibals; then against overbearing

political conditions, made evident in More's "Utopia"; finally came the need of a literary reform. This last movement gave rise to the "Sturm und Drang" period in which culminated the growing revolts against the unnaturalness of the previous centuries. There now resulted a general loathing for culture and a contempt for the false glamour of civilization manifested in every phase of life.

In Britain the reaction first declared itself by Thomson, then by Richardson. In Germany it found expression in the Swiss poet, Haller.

The pulse beat of the desired new natural life is first felt in Haller's poem "Die Alpen". It breathes forth a fervid enthusiasm for nature. The naive "Kulturmensch" is set before our eyes. The shepherd's life among the Alps is portrayed as the ideal state. Haller expresses his antagonistic feeling against culture, which he had embibed from the philosophical literature of his time. In an age when new fundimentals of the physical world were revealed, those of the moral world had to keep pace. Much was written everywhere against luxury, excess, corruption of morals and over-refined culture.

Haller, as has been pointed out above, was the first to give expression to this feeling of enmity against superculture in German poetry. As he stood among the Alps his convictions deepened. The thought of portraying only the beauties of the Alps was foreign to him. Uppermost lay such ideas as are expressed in

these lines:

So lang die Einfalt daurt, wird auch der Wohlstand währen
Wo die Freiheit herrscht wird all' Mühe Minder,

Hier herrschet die Vernunft, von der Natur geleitet.

Und hier hat die Natur die Lehre, recht zu leben
Dem Menschen in das Herz und nicht ins Hirn gegeben.

Ein junger Schäfer stimmt indessen seine Leier,
Dazu er ganz entzückt ein neues Liedgen singt,
Natur und Liebe gieszt in ihn ein heimlich Feuer,
Das in den Adern glimmt und nie die Müh' erzwingt;
Die Kunst hat keinen Theil an seinen Hirten Liedern.

With a poet thus minded, the Indian would find recognition. Now for the first time he appears in German poetry. He is set up as the ideal, the paragon of nobleness and undaunted bravery.

The German poets who treated the Indian in their poetry may be classed into four groups. In the first are Haller, Gellert, Bodmer and Gessner. They contrast cultured society with the Indian's state, whereby the latter stands forth idealized. To the second belong, Herder and Goethe, who make use of Montaigne's discovery and see the poetical side of the Indian. According to time, Kleist belongs with the first class, according to sentiment, with the second. Seume, Shubart, and Schiller

make up the third class, whom we title "Writers of the Revolutionary Period". Their Indian possesses traits of the red man of the first two classes. The poets of the 19th century, Lenau, Chamisso and Anastasius Grün and Freiligrath comprise the fourth class. The noble idealized Indian has passed from the scene, he is replaced by the Indian who is worthy of naught but commiseration.

In the poem "Die Falschheit der Menschlicken Tugenden" Haller deals with the vanity of that which is called virtue. He denounces the world with its holiness, heroism, steadfastness, and magnanimity which offers nothing. Into such a mood the Indian fits. The poet gives a description so closely resembling Montaigne's prisoner, that one wonders if Haller had received his material from the essay on the "Canibales"..

It is a practice among the Outchipoue Indians -- and one is involuntarily reminded of the fate in Gringoire in Victor Hugo's "Nôtre Dame" -- to give the prisoner to the wife of some slain warrior. If she chooses to keep him, his life is saved and he is accepted as a member of the tribe. If she sentences him to death, she is the first to partake of his roasted flesh.

Wann aber ein Huron im tiefen Schnee verirrt,
Bei Erries langem See zum Raub der Feinde wird,
Wann dort sein Holz - Stosz glimmt und, satt mit ihm zu leben,
Des Weibes tödtlich Wort sein Urtheil ihm gegeben,
Wie stellt sich der Barbar? wie grüszt er seinen Tod?
Er singt wann man ikn quält, er lacht, wann man ihm droht.

Then follows a contrast between a Christian and an Indian martyr:

Der Outchipoue thut mehr Als der Bekehrte,
Des Todes Ursach ist das Maasz von seinem Werthe,
Den Märtrer trifft der Lohn von seiner Uebelthat;

One who destroys the peace of the land breaks the laws:

Stirbt, weil er sterben soll; und ist dann der ein Held,
Der am verdienten Strick noch prahlt im Galgen-Feld?

But the Indian prisoner:

Stirbt, weil sein Feind ihn würgt, und nicht für seine Schuld,
Und in der Unschuld, nur verehr ich die Geduld.

In two other poems brief mention is made of the Indian. In "Uber den Ursprung des Uebels" appears this line:

Die Kraft von Blut und Recht erkennen die Huronen.

The poem "Uber das Einweihungs Fest der Göttingischen hohen Schule" contains a reference to the natives of Georgia:

Ein wildes Volk lernt Tugend nennen.

The Inkle and Yariko story, reference to which has been made before, was used to a great extent upon the continent in both drama and poetry. The Spectator was not only read in the original by the Germans, but it was also translated into the German language.[1]

The best known version of Inkle and Yariko appears among

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1. Der Englische Zuschauer, Leipzig. 1739-43.

Gellert's collection of fables. In his eyes literature had only a right to exist in so far as it furthered moral ends. This story furnished him excellent material for such a purpose. Yariko is depicted as a true nature child,

Unwissend in der Kunst.
Verräth sie durch den Blick die Regung ihrer Triebe,
Ihr Auge sprach von Gunst und bat um Gegenliebe,
Durch Lächeln räth sie ihm, getrost und froh zu sein.

Sie zeigt durch Zärtlichkeit
Was für ein treues Herz in einer Wilden schlage,

Her childlike simplicity is delineated by her display of joyous feeling and impatience when Inkle tells her of the wonders of England which she is to enjoy. Over against this naive maid of the wilds stands Inkle, an enlightened Englishman, a slave to "der Liebe zum Gewinnst."

Next to Gellert's fable, Gessner's Inkle and Yariko was best known. It was much followed in France. In the poem "Bodmer Nicht Verkannt"[1] is found this reference: „Gellert verzeih das Bodmer's Yariko lauter und wärmer Klagte".

Goethe attempted to dramatize the Yariko story. In a letter to his sister written in 1766 he mentions that he had commenced to write Inkle and Yariko for the stage. But he had

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1. Deutsche Litteratur Denkmale des 18 and 19 Jh. Vol. 10-16.

more difficulties than he had expected and did not hope to finish it.[1]

In 1769 a tragedy in three acts by an anonymous writer appeared, titled Inkle and Yariko. In 1776 Josef Pelzel produced a tragedy "Yariko". Even as late as 1807 Josef Alois Gleich wrote another tragedy. Some writers emphasized the unfaithfulness of the European white man, others his restlessness and desire for money and possession, while as in the case of Gleich's drama, the writer pictured the Indians as being actually savage but only to avenge themselves against the misuse and ill treatment of the whites.[2]

While a few poets such as Haller and Kleist undertook to fill their poems with nature subjects as an antidote against the evils of unnaturalness, other participants of the "return to nature" movement looked into the past for a remedy. Shakespeare had never been forgotten, but not until now did he become thoroughly known. Imagination and feeling became valued more than rule and form. Originality became the secret of poetry. Young wrote "there is something in poetry which extends far out beyond the intelligence of prose". Other powers were at work beside cold reflexion, which eternally remains barren.

Moral laws no longer seemed essential for a real natural life. Shaftesbury taught that the simple person, the

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1. Goethe Jahrbuch. Vol. 7, p. 49.
2. Die Gestalt des Naturkindes im 18. Jh. von Dr. Max Lederer, 1908. Aus den Programm der K.K. Staats-Oberrealschule in Bielitz.

peasant, the Indian, knows what is right better than the philosopher. The powers of feeling and will regulate themselves of themselves without the intellect.

There thus arose an interest in old folksongs.

In an atmosphere filled with fresh ideas for the simple, for youth, for nature, Herder stands forth as one of the greatest forces. His sensitive nature was quick to feel that time had come for a new birth of things. He felt that people were growing old long before they had lived a youth. All their energy was being wasted in trying to learn the truth from books, while they were shutting themselves out from the real school of learning which is life with its experiences. He missed a youth in his own life. He concluded, it was his mission to give back to mankind the enjoyment of life. This could be done by making use of all the powers and inclinations that life possessed.

To gain his purpose, Herder made a study of the poetry of all nations. He showed that every folk had its poetry wherein is to be found the natural man with his healthy emotions. Early he made the same observation that Lessing before him had made, namely: Poets are born under every sky. Poetic expression is not the property solely of cultivated peoples. Later Chamisso made a similar discovery from personal investigation. In his journey around the world, he noted that no tribe was so barbaric but that it had some fragments of song and poetry. Among some the songs could hardly be distinguished from a wild cry. Others had a

certain rhythm received from the accompaniment of dancing.

Herder was not a scorner of culture. He said in his Ossian essay, people may laugh at his enthusiasm over the "Wilden" but he did not wish to be accused of entirely disregarding the accomplishments of civilization. He recognized human nature in every land and the deep inner emotions of the most remote people. He respected their individuality. His bigness of soul for humanity made the study of poetry a sacred passion with him.

He is indebted to John Hamann for his first interest in the folksong, further enthused by Percy's Ancient Reliques. His essay on "Ossian and the Longs of Old People" came almost like a revelation and resulted in a great flood of translations of various ballads from the Reliques. He would convince his adversaries that the poetry of savage and old folk can not be translated into classical form and retain the savor, charm, naiveté found in the original songs and epics. We recall that Montaigne said "popular and purely natural poetry has a naive grace which compares favorably with the beauty of artificial poetry". Herder would go a step farther and show that the former has something that defies a comparison with anything in our cultured world.

The charm of these songs lies in the lyric animation, melody, rhythm, simple picturesqueness, coherence of contents and feelings and the symmetry of words, syllables and letters. "They

are not a patching together of neatly colored pictures, but songs, full of melody, feelings and emotions. They must be heard and as it were, with the ear of the soul."[1]

In the poems of Ossian, Herder found a similarity to the songs of the American Indian. The savages of America had funeral songs, war songs and songs of praise extoling their fathers and forefathers in common with the Bard of Ossian. He translated some of these into German and in so doing attempted to retain as much of the original and naturalness as possible. The following two are Peruvian poems, the first a lover's serenade.

Schlummre, schlummr' O Mädchen,
Sanft in meine Lieder,
Mitternachts, O Mädchen,
Weck' ich dich schon wieder!

Herder asks the question, "What more or sweeter need be told a maid?"

The other song represents the mythical belief of thunder and lightning. A nymph lives in the clouds with a water jug. At set times she supplies the earth with water. If she neglects her duty her brother breaks the jug, causing thunder, lightning and rain. In this poem Herder feels the symmetry of rhythm.

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1. Cf. Herder By Haym. Vol. II, p. 95. Berlin, 1885.

Schöne Göttin, Himmelstochter!
Mit dem vollen Wasserkruge,
Den dein Bruder jetzt zerschmettert,
Das es wettert Ungewitter,
Blitz und Donner.
Schöne Götten, Konigstochter!
Und nun tränfelst der uns Regen,
Milden Regen!
Doch oft streuest du auch Flocken
Und auch Schlossen!
Denn so hat dir er der Welt Geist,
Er, der Weltgott, Virakocka,
Macht Gegeben, Amt gegeben.

With this impetus from Herder an enthusiastic interest in some of the songs of the original inhabitants of America sprang up in Germany, the same song often appearing under various names.[1] Then Montaigne's cannibal songs became cherished for their wealth of poetry. The fact that the great lyric writer, Goethe, should put them into German verse is evidence enough of their poetic value.

His "Todeslied eines Gefangenen" was first made known in print by Burkhardt in the Tiefurter Journal as one of Goethe's. Burkhardt had found this poem in Goethe's own handwriting on a sheet among those belonging to Anna Amalia along with the

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1. The Life and Works of Mrs. Robinson, by Irma Voight. 1913, p. 73.

"Liebeslied eines Amerikanischen Wilden". This one Burkhardt gave to Köhler to print.[1]

Todeslied eines Gefangenen

Kommt nur kühnlich, kommt nur alle
Und versammelt euch zum Schmause,
Denn ihr werdet mich mit Dräuen,
Mich mit Hoffnung nimmer beugen,
Seht, hier bin ich, bin Gefangen,
Aber noch nicht überwunden.
Kommt, verzehret meine Glieder
Und verzehrt zugleich mit ihnen
Eure Ahnherrn, eure Väter,
Die zur Speise mir geworden.
Dieses Fleisch, das ich euch reiche,
Ist, ihr Thoren, euer eignes,
Und in meinen innern Knochen
Stickt das Mark von euren Ahnherrn.
Kommt nur, kommt, mit jedem Bisse
Kann sie erer Gaumen schmecken.

Goethe has two versions of the "Liebeslied". One shows a striking resemblance to a German translation by John Titius, the other to the original French.

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1. Reinhold Köhler Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie Goethiana, p. 475.

Evald von Kleist has used the same material in his poem called "Lied der Cannibalen". There was some dissension as to whether one of Goethe's was a translation from Montaigne or copied after Kleist.[1]

The two are here given:

Goethe's: Liebeslied eines Amerikanischen Wilden

Schlange warte, warte schlange,
Dass nach deinen schönen Farben
Nach der Zeichnung deiner Ringe,
Meine Schwester Band und Gürtel
Mir fur meine Liebste flechte.
Deine Schönheit, deine Bildung
Wird vor allen andern Schlangen
Herrlich dann gepriesen werden.

Kleist's: Lied der Cannibalen

Verweile! schöne Schlange,
Verweile! meine Schwester
Soll in ein Band von Golde
Dein Bild für Isen wirken,
Für Isen, meine Freundinn.
Alsdann wird deine Schönheit,
Vor allen andern Schlangen
Der Welt, gepriesen werden.

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1. Der Revue Critique found in Kürschner's Signalen, p. 208.

Düntzer denies the dependence of Goethe upon Kleist and believes the translation more closely resembling that of Titius.[1]

While the interest in the songs of the "Wilden" was occupying the attention of the poetic minds, the press was still being over-run with Indian accounts.

An article in Der Teutsche Merkur[2] shows to what extent the Germans were acquainted with the Indian subject. The magazine contains a sketch taken from the report of John Carver's journey through America. At the conclusion of the article the editor adds: The geographical part of the work is entirely new, but concerning the habits and life of the wild Indians, so much is already known among us, that we find nothing new.

In the same publication from the year 1784, p. 95, is printed the speech of the Indian, Logan, to Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia which had been taken from a production giving an account of English Colonies in America. The contents designate the mood of the speaker and scarcely needs a commentary: "I ask every white man if he ever entered Logan's tent hungry, and Logan did not give him food? When he came naked, if Logan did not give him a warm blanket? While bloody wars were fought Logan remained at home, calmly seated on his mat. He wished for peace. My own people pointed a finger of scorn at me and said,

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1. Goethe Jahrbuch, Vol. 9, p. 327.
2. Teutscher Merkur, 1780, p. 78.

'Logan is the friend of the white people'. Before one of your own men did me great evil I wished to live with you and become one of you. One among you killed all my relatives, among them my wife and child. I am the only one of my own blood left. This aroused my wrath. I have killed many of your people. Do not believe that fear is the mother of my joy. Logan has never felt fear. He will never flee in order to save his life; for who remains alive to weep for me when I die? No one!"

From a statement of Duponceau, a great scholar of the Indian, can be noted with what thoroughness the Indian subject was studied by the Germans. "I must take this opportunity to express my astonishment at the great knowledge which the literati of Germany appear to possess of America, and of the customs, manners and languages of its original inhabitants. Strange, we should have to go to German Universities to become acquainted with our own country."[1]

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1. Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Vol. 12, p. 367.

CHAPTER V.

THE INTEREST DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

At the time of the American Revolution, a spirit was abroad in Germany which manifested itself by a general enthusiasm for freedom and in its literature by attacks upon tyrants. The significant index of the latter is the motto on the title page of Schiller's "Die Räuber", "In tyrannos". Thus a way was prepared for American ideals which were eagerly greeted and loudly praised by the poets of the time. We have seen the origin and growing of the German's interest in America, which now culminated in great enthusiasm. The American movement was looked up to as the highest expression of the general desire for liberty. Thus with the German eye of interest still focused upon America, the Indian continued to appeal to some of the poets.[1]

The sale of German mercenaries to England was felt to be a degradation and was frequently assailed in poetry. Among the Hessians, not always sold but even stolen and taken to America, was Seume.

In his poem "Der Wilde" Seume was, no doubt, able to put much of his own experienced disdain for the Englishman. The incident related in this poem may be found recorded in Mathew Carey's American Museum, Vol. 6, p. 40. Briefly told the

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1. The Direct Influence of the American Revolution upon German Poetry. By Prof.J. Hatfield and Miss Hochbaum,1899, Modern Lang. Ass't.

magnanimity of the Canadian is described in the following manner:

An Indian hunter had sold his furs at a trading post. On his return home, he was overtaken by darkness and a heavy rainstorm. He stopped at a white man's cabin and asked for shelter. With curses he was driven away to continue his journey in the torrents of rain. Shortly afterward, the same white man lost his way. After much difficulty, he came to the same Indian's wigwam. Upon asking for the night's protection, the Indian extended to him all the hospitalities his simple household could command. In the morning he safely lead him back to civilization.

Seume's "Wilder" is free from culture. He is not acquainted with the "ubertünchte Höflichkeit Europens". He has only a rough exterior. In his bosom beats a warm heart "wie Gott es ihm gegeben". He is a good husband and father. Love and peace reign in his home, as we see from this charming, domestic scene:

Nasz und müde setzt er bei dem Feuer
Sich zu seinen nackten Kleinen nieder,
Und erzählte .....
Schmeichelnd hingen sie an seinen Nacken,
Trockneten die langen, schwarzen Haare.
Und durchsuchten seine Weidmannstasche,
Bis sie die versprochnen Schätze fanden.

He has never experienced the feeling of revenge. Even when he is shoved aside by the whiteman, he returns good for evil.

Shrewdness and cunning, which is the outgrowth of culture, is set in contrast to the natural, noble "Wilde". Observe the Indian's straightforward, sincere way of asking for shelter, in contrast, the Englishman's fauning manner:

Der gute, wackre Wilde
Bat mit der herzlichsten Gebärde
Den gesittet, feinen Eigentümer,
„Herr, ach laszt mich, bis der Sturm sich leget,
Obdach hier in Eurem Hause finden."

Englishman

„Freund, im Walde hab' ich mich verirret,
Gönnet mir, die Nacht hier zuzubriengen,
Und zeigt nach der Stadt, ich werd' Euch danken,
Morgen früh mir die gewissen Wege!"
Sprach der Europäer furchtsam schmeichelnd.

With a smile of conscious, superior goodness, the Indian says these words to the whiteman at parting:

„Seht, ihr fremden, klugen, weiszen Leute,
Seht, wir Wilden sind doch bessre Menschen."

In Shubart's collection of poems two references are found to the Indian. In "Ein Gespräch auf dem Schiffe", the Indian's manner of warfare is alluded to,

„Man sagt, es gäb' so viele Wilde da,
Die mit der Axt der Feinde Schädel splittern."

In the poem "Der Sterbende Indianer an seinen Sohn" the poet gives a concise portrayal of the noble, ideal savage. His contempt for the white man is shown in these lines:

„Nimm diesen Kranz;
Von Christenhaaren flocht' ich ihn;
Statt Diamanten spielen drinn
Enschlagner Christen Zähne."

The irony in these words belittles the Christian:

„Ich sterbe arm; der Christen Geitz
Liesz mir dies Stroh, worauf ich sterbe,
Und dort den Bogen."

The Indian's philosophy of life appears in the following:

„Sei kalt, und keck, und frei und gut,
Und hasse den, der seinen Gott entehrt."

He is religious and a pantheist:

„Dort unter jenem Baum
Ist ein Altar, dort bete an!
Des Cocusbaumes Wipfel säuselt
Dein Flehn zum Vater der Natur
Dem Himmel vor!"

He knows no fear of death. He looks into the world beyond with the expectation of one going to a festal occasion.

„Ich sterbe gern;
Nun wirft kein Sturm den Fischerkahn
Auf hohen Wogen hin und her.
Ein ew'ger Frühling blühet dort.
Mein Weib - ach, deine Mutter reicht
Auf goldner Schal'mir Ananas.
Aus Christenschädeln trink' ich dort
Der Götter Wein!"

Even in death he is faithful to his wife:

Leg' deine Hand auf meine Brust,
Und schwöre mir! - Begrabe mich
Wo deine Mutter liegt!

Then as if departing on a pleasant journey with free, energetic tone, he takes leave with the words „Leb' wohl".

Schiller had learned of the Nadowessier Indian tribe which lived between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains from the German translation of John Carver's "Trips Through the Interior of North America". The nature of these people seemed to him to be well adapted to a poem or song. The thought of Schiller's "Nadowessiers Totenlied" was taken from the following account in Carver's journal: As soon as a warrior died, he was dressed and painted as if he were still living and seated in an upright position. Placed in the midst of his relatives, each in turn spoke an encomium over the

deceased. If he had been a famous warrior, his heroic deeds were narrated thus: - "You still sit as one among us. Your body still appears natural and is similar to ours, only it no longer blowsthe smoke of your pipe heavenward. Why are your lips silent? Why are your feet motionless which a few days ago were swifter than the deer upon the moutain? Why do your arms hang lifeless which aided you in climbing the highest trees and in bending the stiffest bow? Ah, every part of your structure, which we so much wondered at, is now as spiritless as it was three hundred winters ago. But we will not mourn over you, as if you had departed from us forever. Your soul lives in the land of the Great Spirit with the souls of your kinsmen. We have remained behind to keep alive your fame; but we will soon follow you. Filled with the respect which we showed you while you were still among us, we now come to pay you our last tribute of love. In order that your body shall not fall prey to the birds and beasts we will carefully lay it with those of your forefathers' in the hope that your spirit will feast with their spirits and be ready to receive ours when they come to the 'Lands of the Spirits.' "

Comparing Schiller's song with this source, it is evident he has produced the scene with the same realistic touch found in this prose account. The Indian's poetic and heroic attitude toward death is the theme of the song. So real has

the dead warrior been portrayed that one unwillingly misses the dead one can no longer speak, that his strength has departed from his clenched hands and that his breath has ceased.

Schiller sent a copy of this poem to Goethe. The latter remarked that the "Todtenlied" had a true, realistic, humorous character which is so well fitted to wild natures. Schiller wanted to write a half dozen such songs in order to further develop the subject of the Indian nature upon which he had entered. Goethe encouraged him. But Körner thought he could use his time to better advantage, although he recognized the enticing charm which lay in such songs. Düntzer asserted, had Schiller written more nothing important would have resulted. It was thus fortunate that songs and ballads soon occupied him.[1]

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1. Düntzer's Erläuterungen zu Schiller's Gedichten.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTEREST DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The evolution of the attitude of Europe towards the United States furnishes an interesting comment on the attitude towards life in the 18th and 19th centuries. As has been observed in the 18th century, the love for savages and wild nature, joined during the American Revolution with the newly arisen democratic fervor and the love for the simple life to make America appear as the very embodiment of the highest human aspiration.[1]

Previous to the 19th century the noble, idealized Indian lived in a state which was often envied by the civilized Europeans. As such, he graced the pages of German literature. But during the 19th century with the waning of Romanticism, a reaction set in. The Indian now became gradually the object of pity. The poets treated him in a sentimental manner and pictured the tragedy of a dying race.

Owing to the economic, social and political conditions prevailing at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Europe and especially in Germany, America was considered more than ever as a haven of refuge by the discontented, the poor and the oppressed. As a consequence a stream of immigrants turned to

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1. U. S. in European Literature. By Prof. von Klenze. Mod. Lang. Ass't. Vol. 17.

this country. Many met sad disappointments in land speculations whereby they were swindled of the little which they had hoped to increase multifold. We need but read Dicken's Martin Chuzzelwit with its account of Martin's experience in America to feel the contempt of the Englishman for the American money greed.

Among the Germans, the poet Lenau was to make this same experience. He, "the eternal autumn", was deeply tinged with an excessive romanticism. He came to America (1832-33) where he hoped to find a land of "magic wonder" wherein to realize himself. Soon, however, he was disillusioned and sent home reports which strongly criticized America and its inhabitants. He found nothing poetical in this country, only „ausgebrannte Menschen in ausgebrannten Wäldern", no wine, no nightingale. All that he saw was symbolical of ruin, even the Niagara Falls whose roaring waters he had hoped would awaken his turbid soul. Such a temperament could only see the tragic side of the fast disappearing red race.

Lenau spent some time in the western part of Pennsylvania, making observations at the Indian reservation. Rattermann[1] assumes that here he conceived the idea for his poem "Der Indianerzug".

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1. Essay on Lenau. Vol. XI, p. 418. Ed. 1908.

From the beginning a minor cord is struck in this poem whose theme is the tragedy of a doomed race. The very first strophe vibrates with pathos:

Wehklage hallt am Susquehanna-Ufer
Der Wandrer fühlt sie tief sein Herz durchschneiden;
Wer sind die lauten, wildbewegten Rufer?
Indianer sind's die von der Heimath scheiden.

Suddenly their lamenting ceases as an old father gives utterance to his bitter hatred for the whiteman, who had torn them from their native home and gods. He bids them gather about the graves of their forefathers to pay them their parting homage. But to do it silently lest they awaken them and they learn their children have been turned from their faith. For a time all is hushed. Again their grief bursts forth into mournful, pitiful wails.

Wie sie vorüberwandern an den Bäumen,
Umarmend viele an die Stämme fallen,
Zum Scheidegrusz den trauten Waldesräumen
Läszt jeder einmal noch die Flinte knallen.

Lenan's longing for America had been changed to loathing when he saw the Americans in their mad rush for wealth. He could put his whole soul into the bitterness and irony uttered by the Indian:

„Der Hohn wird kommen, früher oder später,
Der gier'ge Pflug wird in die Gräber dringen;
Dann musz die heil'ge Asche uns'rer Väter,
Des tiefverhaszten Feindes Saaten düngen!"

Upon Goat's Island which divides the Niagara Falls into halves there lived Chippewa Indians. They obtained a meagre existence by selling ornaments. Lenau immortalizes three of these Indians in his poem "Die Drei Indianer". A father and two sons feel bitterly the oppression of the white man. Freedom gone, the only other alternative left is death. This characteristic of the Indian furnishes the theme for most of the other poems written during this century.

„Fluch den Weiszen! ihren letzten Spuren!
Jeder Welle Fluch, worauf sie fuhren,
Die einst, Bettler unsern Strand erklettert!
Fluch dem Windhauch, dienstbar ihrem Schiffe!
Hundert Flüche jedem Felsenriffe,
Das sie nicht hat in den Grund geschmettert,
Täglich über's Meer in wilder Eile
Fliegen ihre Schiffe, gift'ge Pfeile,
Treffen uns're Küste mit Verderben,
Nichts hat uns die Räuberbrut gelassen,
Als im Herzen tödtlich bittres Hassen;
Kommt, ihr Kinder, kommt, wir wollen sterben."

Und die Männer kommen festentschlossen,
Singend schon dem Falle zugeschossen,
Stürzen jetzt den Katarakt hinunter.

In Anastasius Grün's cycle of poems, "Cincinnatus", appears a poem describing the burying of the tomahawk. As the Indians and white men sit in a circle smoking the peace pipe, the manner of burying the hatchet is discussed. The most striking part of the poem is the speech made by an old Indian.

„Diesz Beil von Holz und Erz
O laszt's am Tag! Doch greift in euer Herz!
Drin liegt das Schlachtbeil, das vielleicht schon jetzt
Von euch manch Einer frisch zum Kampfe wetzt!
Das Herz ist tiefer als Gebirg' und See'n,
Und doch wird draus das Beil zu Tag erstehn!
Bis eine Handvoll Erd' einst, drauf gestreut,
Es besser birgt als Meer und Berge heut!"

Among the poems of Chamisso are found three dealing with the Indian. The story contained in "Der Stein der Mutter, oder der Guahiba-Indianerin" was taken from Humboldt's "Voyage aux regions equinoxiales". A missionary had related the incident to Humboldt. Near the shore of South America between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers is a stone called "Der Stein der Mutter".

The theme of "freedom or death" comes in evidence again, „Nur Freiheit oder Tod war ihre Wahl". The feeling of admiration for the undaunted persistence of the Indian again

and again to seek escape is not so pronounced as the humane feeling of pity for the mother. The awfulness of suffering heaped upon an innocent, heathen savage by enlightened, Christian people, is presented most horribly real by the poet. Observe the irony in the inconsistent undertaking of the white men at the outset of this poem.

Einst ward von San Fernando unter nommen
Ein zug, um Seelen für den heil'gen Glauben,
Und Sklaven, die uns dienen, zu bekommen.

We feel that the poet wishes to emphasize this inconsistency of the Christians. Again the antithesis in these lines:

Im Boote blieb, ein Betender, der Pater,
Und liesz die rauhe Kraft der Seinen walten,
Sie überfielen, ohne Schutz und Rater,
Ein wehrlos Weib; mit seiner Söhne Macht
Verfolgte wohl den Jaguar der Vater,
An Christen hatte nicht der Thor gedacht.

And again:

Da schien dem Missionar der beste Rat
Von ihren Kindern weit sie zu entfernen,
Wo nimmer ihr der Hoffnung Schimmer naht.

The mother with the two children was bound and carried away. No sooner had San Fernando been reached than the raving woman made her escape. She was caught and cruelly lashed, yet she made a

second escape. Again she was caught. This time her children were taken from her, and she was thrown fettered into the bottom of the boat.

Sie fühlte nicht die eigne bittre Not,
Sie fühlte Mutterliebe, Kern des Lebens.
..... und sie wünschte sich den Tod.

As if with supernatural power she tore asunder her chains, leaped into the water and swam for the large rock near the shore. She was seized, laid upon the stone, lashed without mercy and with arms tied to her back again thrown into the boat. When night came, the inmates of the boat went ashore. The Indian woman was left guarded in a sheltered place. By some miraculous means, in spite of her mangled condition, she disappeared during the night. She had returned to the house where her children had been left, having walked a distance of thirty miles. For the last time she was snatched from her children. When she realized that all avenues of earthly escape were closed she chose the one remaining way to eternal freedom.

Sie konnten nicht zu sterben sie verhindern.
Und, wie verzweifelnd die Indianer pflegen,
Sie war nicht, seit der letzten Hoffnung Stunde,
Das Nahrung ein sie nehme, zu bewegen.
So liesz sie sich verhungern! Diese Kunde
Zu der Guahiba und der Christen Bildnis
Erzählet jener Stein mit stummem Munde
Am Atabapos - Ufer in der Wildnis.

In Chamisso's poem "Das Mordthal" the tragedy of the dying race is portrayed jointly with the other theme of "death preferred when nature's freedom is gone". At first as the Indian brave appears before us, we fancy we see the idealized Indian of the previous century; but when he begins to talk and move before our eyes, his romantic halo disappears. He is but a shadow of the former noble Indian chief, an object for pity.

A traveller spent a night in a valley known as "Mordthal". At some earlier time, thirty white men had been massacred in this place. With a mind full of horror,the man lay down to sleep by his camp fire. Strange sounds disturbed him. The moon cast mysterious shadows about him. All at once he saw leaning against a tree:

Ein Sohn der Wildnis, welcher regungslos
Mich wundersamen, starren Blickes masz;
Nicht jung von Jahren, kräftig, schön und grosz,
An Schmuck und Waffen einem Fürsten gleich;

Thinking it an illusion created by his fear wrought-up mind, he closed his eyes. Upon opening them, the seeming vision has disappeared. Sleep followed. Morning and waking consciousness brought the return of the night's spectre. This time it proved a terrifying reality. The white man seized his pistol and leaped toward the Indian. The latter calmly met him and forcefully took his weapon. Frightened the man sank to the ground almost

perishing beneath the Indian's furious glare.

Er aber schien sich selbst zu widerstreben,
Zu bandigen die rasche, wilde Wut.
Ich sah ihn unvermutet frei mich geben
Die Pfeife steckt' er an des Herdes Glut
In Brand, und reichte rauchend sie mir dar,
Wie Friede bietend es der Wilde that.

Safety thus assured, the white man followed the Indian home. Refreshed by the Indian's simple board, he watched with astonishment the movements of his host. With great care the old chief dressed himself in his complete warrior garb and trophies. He then began to tell his life history.

„Einst fand ein Weiszer meinen Vater auch
In seinem Schlaf, - ich war noch ungeboren.
Er schlug den Schlafenden nach eurem Brauch,
Und Rache war, zu der ich auserkoren,
Das erste Wort, das ich zu lallen lernte,
Und war der erste Schwur den ich geschworen."

He grew to man's age, true to his oath. His feeling of revenge was intensified by the murder of his four sons. When he and his mother were the remaining representatives of the family, they withdrew deep into the forest. One day an old, white man asked for a night's lodging. The mother recognized him as the slayer of her husband.

„Da schrie sie leise mir ins Ohr! erwache!
Der ist es der den Vater dir erschlagen;
Gedenke deines Schwures! Rache! Rache!

Ich will was folgt an anderm Ort dir sagen
Erhebe dich, mein Gast, und folge mir."

The two went to the edge of a precipice. Here the Indian had lead the murderer of his father. So determined had he been to be avenged, he willingly encountered death in order to bring the soul of this man to the shade of his father. He had leaped over the cliff dragging the white man with him. The Indian was mercifully spared by outstretched, cedar branches, while the other man rushed headlong to his destruction. Since then he had killed five whitemen. Now that his mother was dead, he no longer desired life. But one more sacrifice must fall before his end. That morning as he saw the wayfarer asleep by his fire, he had raised his tomahawk to slay him as that one, last sacrifice. As if detained by the Great Spirit,he had refrained from the act. At once a new thought concerning the nature of his last tribute had entered his mind. He then asked his companion to follow him and he would reveal to him what he had in mind. He lead him to an open grave.

„Halt an! wir sind am Ort,
Du sollst nach unsern Bräuchen mich bestatten,

Es führet dich zurück der Fuszsteig dort.
Hier legst du mich zur Ruh! nach dem Ermatten,
Dies Grab enthält der meinigen Gebein,
Und wird umschwirrt von meiner Väter Schatten."
Er sprach's und trat in seiner Toten Reihn.

As he sang his "swan song" he gave utterance to thoughts fraught with the most pathetic, heart rending feelings of desolation. „Gesättiget, müd und alt" with not a living kinsman, he voluntarily gave up his spirit to death.

In the "Rede des Alten Kriegers Bunte-Schlange im Rate der Creek-Indianer", the Indian's resigned attitude toward his inevitable fate is the predominant theme. A messenger sent from President Jackson brings the request to the council of Indians that they are to move west across the Mississippi. As the herald stands waiting for a reply, the Indians take ample time in considering the matter.

Starr und stumm beharrten, wie in Träumen,
Die Oberhäupter, man vernahm noch lange
Das Säuseln nur des Windes in den Bäumen.

The recognized trait of respect for the aged is brought in evidence in the next:

Da hob sich aus der Männer erstem Range
Der hundertjähr'ge waffenmüde Greis,
Ein Nestor seines Volks, der Bunte-Schlange
Und wie gespannt ein jeder auf ihn sah,

Begann er seine Rede, klug und weis',

Here, too, we see but a remnant of a former, brave and idealized race, which by degrees has been forced back, receding before the advance of the subjugating white race.

Among the pages of Freiligrath's poems the Indian appears more often than among those of any other German poet. However, but three of these poems are his own composition, while the others are translations from French, English, and American authors. Nevertheless, from the character of the translated poems, we can judge the poet's attitude toward the Indian. Freiligrath says that in order to translate, he needed an inspiration as well as if he were writing from his own heart. We can thus feel Freiligrath's personality behind these translated poems as strongly as if they were his own creation.

Freiligrath was a man of fancy, revelling in the wildest Romanticism. Feeling himself fettered on all sides he longed for the carefree life of the sea pirate or of the hunter in the Forests along the Savannah. His intense aversion to his unpoetic surroundings only heightened his inborn desire for the wonders of the distant lands. He was driven almost like Rousseau to a disregard for the world of culture in which "Alle Tiefe, Frische, Kraft" is lost. He possessed a warm heart for the unhappy and downtrodden in all times and zones. In such a heart there was of course room also for the unfortunate,

oppressed Indian.

"Die Kanadierin" is a translation from Victor Hugo. It is an Indian mother's elegy to her dead son. There is a custom among some Indians, if for some reason the body can not be interred at once, it is tied upon the bough of a tree. In this song the mother directs her grief to the lifeless form in the tree.

Auf dieser Palme die sich schaukelnd biegt
Im Weste, schlummre, mein Geliebtes Kind!
Ach, kurze Zeit nur an dies Herz geschmiegt,
Wiegt jetzo schon die Palme dich, der Wind; -
So hat die Hoffnung mich gewiegt.

The mother shows a wonderful self-control over her emotion:

Doch wenn die Turtel-taube bang
Und ängstlich girrt in diesen zweigen,
So glaube nicht, dasz es der Klaggesang
Der Mutter sei! - denn mit dir will sie schweigen.

A mother's love and grief as deep, sincere and aching as ever found in a civilized mother's heart are felt back of these words:

Du bist nicht mehr! Brich, armes Mutterherz!
Dein süszes Auge grüszt mich nimmer.
Weh, Mutter war ich - ach, mein Schmerz,
Sag mir, ich bin es noch, ich bin es immer!

"Die Indianerin" is a translation from Felicia Hemans. Lenau's three Indians come to mind as one reads this poem. A mother with a sleeping child in her arms, seated in a canoe, is being carried by the swift current on to a roaring cataract. As she is hurried along she sings a triumphant song of liberation. Forsaken by a faithless husband,

> Ich kann nicht leben ohne Licht, roll' hin und mach' mich frei!

She has no fear for death,

> Ein sel'ger Brunnen sprudelt dort ein Brunnen tief und hell;
> Vielleicht, dasz all mein Herzeleid hinwegspult dieser Quell!
> Ein sanfter Wind in jenem Land weht allen Kummer fort,
> Den Gram bei Tag, den Gram bei Nacht - O, wären wir schon dort.

In another translation from Heman's "Lied der Auswanderer" the mention of America as the place „Wo die Indierfürsten, die Alten, ruhn" is indicative of the dying out of the red race. "Lied der Alten Tschalstas" is a translation of an Indian chief's song of victory.

Freiligrath's greatest translative Indian work is Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha". The following taken from the preface to his translation shows the interest he had taken in the original: This work of Longfellow caused a great literary

excitement. The manner in which the subject was treated and the meter gave it distinction. Lecturers treated the poem in their discourses, artists illustrated Scenes from Hiawatha, while translators made it familiar in other countries. The forests and prairies had been dead and soulless. One had believed that the forest could only be filled with the hunter's and warrior's cry of the red race which was being pushed westward. The Americans had never taken an elevated interest in this "Volkernatur". The poetical character of the Indian to which Schiller had drawn attention sixty years previous, had not been recognized by the heirs of the red race; at least it had not been productive of any cultural expression. But there appeared a poet who made use of the rough, ready material breathed into it a soul and produced a live, poetical work. Then the forests were no longer barren. The tendency to kill and destroy the Indian was replaced by a humanistic interest.[1]

"Der Ausgewanderte Dichter" is a fragment from an incomplete cycle. The poem pictures, in one of the parts, a camp fire scene. The Indians are seated about the fire, while the oldest among them utters a eulogy to the recently buried members. Throughout the poem, the feeling of homesickness predominates and consequently such a scene seems fitting.

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1. Cf. Freiligrath's Werke Heransgegeben von Julius Schwering, Vol. 4 - 6. p. 413.

In the poem "Die Schiffe" the name Indianer is given to one of the ships. The very fact that this name was used in this way goes to show that it had a peculiar connotation similar to that of the name "Hurone" in the 18th century.[1]

Freiligrath's best poem, showing the tendency of the 19th century to treat the Indian as a pitiable, relic of former glory, is entitled "Audubon".

This poem expresses the "storm and stress" of the young poet in his enthusiastic "return to nature" and reminds us of the nature-cult of Lenau before he had tasted the bitter of Niagara's dashing waters, and felt the pang of his lost investments.

This poetical work written by the "Trompeter of the Revolution" in Germany to the great "Birdcatcher" [2] in America, is of interest in that it sheds light upon Freiligrath's views of America at that time.[3]

The part which is of immediate interest to us contains Freiligrath's attitude toward the Indian.

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1. In this connection we would mention Hagedorn's poem "Die Thiere" where is found this line „Warum den müssen die Huronen durch Biberwitz beschämet sein?" Also in Pfeffel's "Recept Wider den Krieg" appears just a bare mention of Huronen.

2. John James Audubon, American ornithologist, 1780 - 1851.

3. Cf. Americana Germanica, Vol. I, 1897, p. 62.

Schüttelt ab die - Europäer!
Schüttelt ab das Raupenheer!
Seit in eure Hirschfellhütten
Trat des Meeres klugen Sohn,
Ist die Reinheit eurer Sitten,
Ist das Glück von euch geflohn.

Euer Wild wird ausgerottet,
Siech gemacht wird euer Leib,
Euer groszer Geist verspottet,
Und geschändet euer Weib.

Civilization is the Indians' enemy. The missionaries are censored for trying to make them tame, well-bred and wise.

The tragedy of the Indian situation is uttered in the last stanza:

Weh, zu spät! Was hilft euch Säbel,
Tomahawk und Lanzenschaft?
Alles glatt und fashionable!
Doch wo -- Tiefe, Frische, Kraft?

CONCLUSION.

To give a chronological order of the movements and events which lead up to the poets' glorification of the American Indian in German literature, is an impossibility since the different movements over-lap or run simultaneously with one another. There are, however, a few striking events and efforts of writers which stand out in relief. These give the movement a consecutive appearance. In conclusion I will briefly state these again.

The discovery of the New World marked the beginning of a new epoch in the life of European people. Social and literary movements were set in motion which varied their character as they extended down through several centuries.

A newly discovered race of people, astonishingly different from any one known, became the center about which speculative thinking, concerning the state of civilized man as compared with the primitive man, revolved. The first evidence of this tendency was expressed in the writings of the modern Utopias, among which that of Sir Thomas More was the first. His Utopia concerns itself with a new form of government located on a distant island.

A similar theme came to view in Montaigne's essay on the "Cannibales" in which he sets forth an ideal, social state,

found among the South American Indians. He surprised the literati with the discovery that the cannibals had poetry.

Following in the footsteps of these forerunners, Bacon appeared with a scientific treatment of the causes of things wherein he made use of the contrast offered by the old and new world.

Thus while individual minds were dreaming and writing about reforms, the popular mind gradually came to possess a new conception of nature. The awareness of the artificiality in society caused a search for some remedy where-with to remove this stilted condition. The contrast between the uncivilized and the civilized man, as revealed by the discovery of America, had placed the former in the lead. He was looked upon as possessing that which refined society had lost during its advancement toward higher culture. As a result, primitive life became idealized and the Indian was thought to be the man least removed from the original state.

However the Indian did not become fully idealized until after the vindication which he received from the pen of the Spaniard, Las Casas. Among the English, the noble Indian and his mode of life appeared in the writings of Raleigh, Addison, Steele, Drake, Carver and others. The Germans showed their interest by the expectant attitude with which they awaited the missionary reports as the letter of Pastorius reveals. The translation of

Carver's work into the German language and the writing of huge volumes on Indian life, as in the case of Baumgartens, are further evidences of German interest.

Coincident with Europe's interest in the Indian and with the revolt in society against over-culture, came the demand for a simpler style in literature. Poets chose their themes independently of the classic tradition. They now extoled the beauties of nature, the life of the unsophisticated peasant and railed against the excesses of civilization. As a consequence, in German poetry the Indian was singled out and held up as a model.

From among the German poets, who wrote about the Indian, three had visited America, Seume, Lenau and Chamisso. Having seen with their own eyes, their poems are especially emphatic and vivid in the portrayal of the impressions they had received concerning the Indian.

Haller, Bodmer, Gellert, Gessner, pictured the Indian in contrast to the white man, as his superior in the nobler traits of character such as, fearlessness in the face of death, faithfulness, simplicity, sympathy, and transparent sincerity. Kleist, Schiller, Herder, and Goethe appreciated the poetical element in the red man. Schiller and Goethe also presented the savages' scorn for death. Shubart and Seume contrasted the white and red man wherein the red man towers above the former. This group of poets glorified the Indian with all the enthusiasm of the 18th century Utopian dreaming.

In the 19th century the Indian was a center of interest from another point of view. There came a revulsion of feeling from admiration to pity, which is clearly brought out in the poems of Lenau, Anastasius Grün, Chamisso, and Freiligrath. The death knell of the doomed race is given forth in the last stanza of Freiligrath's "Audubon" which I quote again:

Weh, zu spät! Was hilft euch Säbel,
Tomahawk und Lanzenschaft?
Alles glatt und fashionable!
Doch wo -- Tiefe, Frische, Kraft?

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